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ABSTRACT

A study investigated the validity of the hypothesis proposed by Frank L. Mott that a study of American magazines could reveal the "social currents" of a given time. The study examined periodicals published from 1966 to 1975 to determine if any evidence of the environmental movement could be found. The investigation revealed that more than 70 specialized environmental periodicals came into existence during that period, with all but 10% continuing to publish. More than 30 English language environmental journals published in foreign countries began to circulate in the United States. In addition, the older conservation magazines began to take on an environmental look, and the various states began to publish environmental newsletters and bulletins. General interest magazines also began to publish large numbers of environmental articles. The findings support the Mott hypothesis. (FL)

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Magazine Division

AMERICAN MAGAZINES AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT: SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP, 1966-1975

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AMERICAN MAGAZINES AND THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT:

SYMBIOTIC RELATIONSHIP, 1966-1975

> Periodical files furnish an invaluable contemporaneous history of their times....The researcher investigating social currents.... finds invaluable aid in the various periodicals....Where is there such a record (of the course of popular ideas) as we have in magazine files?--FRANK LUTHER MOTT.[1]

Were Dr. Mott still writing his monumental history of American magazines today, he might very well document his thesis by linking the irruption in magazine environmental content in the decade 1966-1975 to the simultaneous widespread public recognition of "environmental pollution as a social problem,"[2] and to concommitant sweeping governmental environmental management initiatives. In that period over 70 specialized environmental periodicals came into being in the United States; all but 10 per cent continue in existence today. Over 30 English language environmental journals published abroad circulated here. An older generation of conservation magazines took on an environmental tilt. Each state experienced its own irruption in environmental newsletters and bulletins. Environmental articles became a staple in many general circulation magazines. There may be no clearer example of the symbiotic relationship of social currents and magazine enterprise in America.

THE GENEALOGY OF ENVIRONMENTAL MAGAZINES

The principal roots of the specialized environmental magazine appear to be three. First, the nature study/outdoor recreation/conservation genre. Second, the professional natural resource management genre. And third, the science/technology genre.

Genre No. 1 first appeared with the publication of national periodicals like American Sportsman (1861), Forest and Stream (1873), and American Angler (1881). Such writers as George Bird Grinnell and Emerson Hough used their pages not only to delineate the basics of sporting etiquette but to play an active role in early movements to conserve wildlife, forests, and parks.[3] The Sierra Club Bulletin (1893), American Forests (1895), and Audubon (1899) were the house organs of the first voluntary groups devoted to the study and conservation of mountain wilderness, forests, and birds respectively. In the same genre are such more recently established periodicals as National Parks and Conservation Magazine (1926), Living Wilderness (1935), Conservation News (1936), and Outdoor News Bulletin (1956).

Representing Genre No. 2 are Auk (1884), The Journal of Forestry (1902), Parks and Recreation (1903), Water Pollution Control Federation Journal (1928), American Institute of Planners Journal (1935), The Journal of Wildlife Management (1937), The Journal of Environmental Health (1938), The Journal of Soil and Water Conservation (1946), Air Pollution Control Association Journal (1951), Our Public Lands (1951), Solid Waste Management (1958), and Natural Resources Journal (1961). While the JEH signified the first appearance of the term "environmental" in an American magazine title, the word did not carry today's connotations; the JEH was devoted solely to the concerns of the National Association of Sanitarians, just as Environmental Engineering (1962) circulating from England devoted its pages exclusively to heating and air conditioning technology.

Scientific American (1845), Science (1880), Ecology (1920), BioScience (1951), Limnology and Oceanography (1956), and Journal of Environmental Sciences (1958), are representative of Genre No. 3. Here again the use of the term "environmental" in the name of the JES did not carry a modern connotation. In the 1950s, environmental scientists in such fields as meteorology, plant and animal ecology, and geochemistry would never have considered sociology as in any way an environmental science,[4] yet under the impact of the environmental movement some sociologists have come to call "environmental" sociology "a new paradigm,"[5] and the newer Environmental Science and Technology actively solicits articles by social scientists.

THE CONNOTATION OF "ENVIRONMENTAL"

What indeed are the basic ideas implied by the use of the term "environmental," particularly in contrast to yesterday's "conservation?" A panel of ecologists has distilled some key tenets:[6]

In locus, the fouled, clogged arteries of the city quite as much as scarred countryside. In scope, a comprehensive, interrelated humankind-environment-technology system. In focus, global environmental impacts of crisis proportions threatening the well-being of all humankind on an over-crowded planet. In content, tough ecological choices, not easy unilateral fixes. In strategy, long-range impact analyses and rational planning. In tactics, grass-roots participation in resource policy formation--in the streets and through institutional channels. In prospect, a necessary reliance on alternative sources of energy. In philosophy, a commitment to less destructive technologies and less consumptive lifestyles. In essence, a recognition of pervasive interdependencies, that everything is connected to everything else--what Perlinski has called "the principal intuition of the 20th century."[7] In substance, an applied ecology, an "environmental" approach to "the system of interrelationships among society, economics, politics, and nature in the use and management of resources."[8]

THE EMERGENCE OF "ENVIRONMENTAL"

In the 1960s, faced with energizing public awareness of what were early identified as "the four P's"--pollution, pesticides, population, and people's habits, applied ecologists apparently sought a compelling phrase or phrases that would signify a new, comprehensive approach to what Aldo Leopold had called a "man-land ethic." Steadily there emerged "environment," "environmental," "environmentalist"--each of them old, technical terms adapted to new, popular purposes.

A reconnaissance of newspaper, periodical, and book indexes and other reference data has suggested that the early chronology of environmental terminology featured books, journal articles, government reports, convention speeches, and specialized publications. In time, "the environment" and related terms increasingly entered the mass media lexicon as a means to label the new way of looking at humankind-habitat relationships:

1959 Raymond Dasmann introduces the term Environmental Conservation as the title of a text.

1962 A Natural Resources report to the President by the National Research Council speaks of "an integrated approach to the problems of the human environment."

1963 Political scientist Lynton Caldwell writes "Environment: A New Focus on Public Policy." Stewart Udall's U.S. Department of Interior annual report is titled Quest for Environmental Quality

1964 Educator Mathew J. Brennan speaks to the American Nature Study Association on "Education for the Total Environment."

1965 Symposia reports appear on Future Environments of North America and Restoring the Quality of the Environment.

1966 Resources for the Future publishes Environmental Quality in a Growing Economy.

1967 The American Academy of Arts and Sciences devotes an issue of its journal (Daedalus) to "America's Changing Environment."

1968 Barry Commoner's Scientist and Citizen magazine is restyled Environment.

1969 Congress passes a landmark National Environmental Policy Act. Time introduces an "Environment" section. The New York Times appoints an "environmental reporter."

1970 Fortune devotes an entire issue to "The Environment: The National Mission of the "70s." Earth Day sends environmental coverage mounting in newspapers and on TV.

1971 Environmental issues lead the list of editorial topics in the press. Walter Cronkite introduces a special "environment" segment on the CBS Evening News.

1972 Sociologists Riley Dunlap and Richard Gale say "environmental quality" has entered the consciousness of the general public as "a social problem."[9]

THE SPECIALIZED MAGAZINE IRRUPTION[10, 11]

Hand in hand with the general emergence of the environmental movement in the 1966-1975 decade came that remarkable irruption in numbers of new American specialized environmental periodicals. The following representative chronology suggests something of the breadth and depth of the phenomenon:

1966 Bulletin of Environmental Contamination and Toxicology, Journal of Outdoor Education

1967 Atmospheric Environment, Environmental Research, Environmental Science and Technology, The Futurist, Pesticides Monitoring Journal, Water Research

1968 Land Use Digest, Limnos

1969 Environment and Behavior, Environment and Planning, Environment Monthly, Journal of Environmental Education, Journal of Leisure Research, Oceans,

Pollution Engineering, Remote Sensing of the Environment, Sierra Club National News Report, Thoreau Journal, Water Spectrum

1970 Aware, Critical Reviews in Environmental Control, Catalyst for Environmental Quality, Environment Action Bulletin, Environmental Law Review, Environmental Quality, Environment Report, Environment Reporter, Environmental Action, Environmental Law, International Journal of Environmental Studies, Mosaic, Mother Earth News, Not Man Apart, Smithsonian, WasteAge,

1971 Clear Creek, Citizens' Bulletin, Ecology Law Quarterly, Ecology/Today, Environmental Affairs, Environmental Future, Environmental Law Reporter, International Wildlife, Journal of Environmental Systems, 102 Monitor

1972 Environmental Quality and Safety, Family Planning Digest, Human Ecology, Journal of Environmental Quality, Man on Earth

1973 Coastal Zone Management Journal, Energy Policy, Energy Sources, Energy Users Digest, Environmental Comment, Environmental Education Report, Equilibrium, Geothermal Energy, Journal of Environmental Management, Solar Energy Digest

1974 Columbia Journal of Environmental Law, Environmental Ethics, Environmental History, Journal of Environmental Economics and Management

1975 Chemecology, Energy Reporter, The International Journal of Energy, Environmental Geology, Journal of Environmental Science & Health

There might have been more American environmental periodicals if some ecological niches, so to speak, had not been occupied by distinguished English-language journals published in other countries but circulating widely in the U.S. For example:

England African Environment (1974), Applied Energy (1975), Biological Conservation (1968), Clean Air (1929), Ecologist (1970), Energy World (1973), Environment and Change (1972), Environment and

	Planning (1969), Environmental Pollution (1970), Environmental Pollution Management (1971), Family Planning (1963), Journal of Animal Ecology (1932), Journal of Applied Ecology (1964), Journal of Ecology (1913), Oryx (1903), Pollution Monitor (1971), Society for Environmental Education Journal (1968), Water Pollution Control (1901)
Netherlands	Agriculture and Environment (1974), Agro-ecosystems (1974), Meteorology (1970), Ecological Modelling (1975), Hydrobiological Journal (1969), Landscape Planning (1974), Resource Recovery and Conservation (1974), Science of the Total Environment (1971), Urban Ecology (1975), Water/Air/Soil Pollution (1971)
Russia	Atmospheric and Oceanic Physics (1965), Soviet Journal of Ecology (1970)
Sweden	Ambio (1972), Tellus (1949)
Canada	Canadian Field Naturalist (1879), Nature Canada (1972), Water and Pollution Control (1893)
Japan	Ecological Review (1935), Population Ecology (1952)
Italy	Ceres (1968)
Switzerland	Environmental Conservation (1974)
India	Family Planning News (1960)
France	Impact of Science on Society (1950)

THE ENVIRONMENTALIZATION OF OLDER JOURNALS

One might hypothesize that, in the case of a social current like broad-gauged concern for environmental quality, it would be specialized periodicals that would set the agenda for general audience publications. Just the opposite seems to have been the case. Analyzing the content of Environment and Audubon on the one hand and Time and Saturday Review on the other, 1959-1979, Strodthoff

found that "message variables for general audience channels were more precipitous and less sustained than those for the special interest channels, which tended to be more gradual and protracted."[12]

For more documentation that the antecedent "conservation" magazines were slow to reflect the newer environmental concepts and subject matter, take their coverage--or rather, lack of coverage--of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) during 1968-70.[13]

NEPA is uniformly regarded by adherents, foes, and scholars alike as a landmark act. With pardonable pride of sponsorship, Sen. Henry Jackson termed NEPA "one of the most significant steps ever taken in the field of conservation." Joseph Fisher later praised it as "the most comprehensive legislative statement of the nation's...commitment to protect the environment," one which has had "a profound impact on agency decisionmaking." T. T. Finn says "no law has done more to make the federal government sensitive to environmental values," penetrating the bureaucratic structure "like a whiplash" to force "early consideration of ecological factors in federal decision-making."

In passing NEPA the Congress had five major purposes in mind: to mandate federal agencies to protect and restore environmental quality in accordance with a general national policy, to establish specific action-forcing procedures for the implementation of that policy, to create a Council on Environmental Quality in the Executive Office of the President, to foster the development of information on and indices of environmental quality, and to provide for an annual CEQ report of progress toward NEPA's goals.

In the presence of such sweeping legislation, one would assume its evolution and passage would have been followed meticulously be existing specialized prototype environmental magazines. Not so, a content analysis of 1969 issues of seven such periodicals has shown.

Environment did not mention NEPA. Neither did Science. In the Sierra Club Bulletin, the April issue reported the Club's John Muir Award had just gone to

Senator Jackson, but there was no mention of his NEPA role. The July SCB made passing mention of "several bills providing for the creation of an environmental council," but the October issue did not place NEPA on the Club's list of "priority conservation projects" even though its Washington representative had testified at a NEPA hearing.

The Outdoor News Bulletin on June 6 devoted space to Congressman Dingell's charge that "the complex of environmental quality will require a new mechanism of federal agencies," and on June 18 the Bulletin recorded some Congressional attention to S 1075 and HR 6750. Then, nothing more until NEPA had passed. The Conservation News for March 15 carried a "National Wildlife Federation call for Congressional action on environmental issues," but did not include NEPA. The July 1 issue made minor mention of S 1075 and HR 6750 among "other legislation" awaiting Congressional action. An Oct. 1 roundup of "limited conservation accomplishments" in Washington indicated that S 1075 was "tied up in a jurisdictional squabble, with its final fate uncertain." Reporter Louis Clapper did write that, if passed, "this bill can be an important keystone in an entirely new approach toward maintaining quality in the environment," but the Federation itself conducted no mobilizing campaign on behalf of NEPA in the columns of its organ. (Clapper has since called NEPA "a real sleeper.") In Audubon's "National Outlook" column, Charles H. Callison in July gave a rundown on pending NEPA-type bills, all of them predicated on the belief that "both the executive and legislative branches of the federal government are ill-structured to attack the (environmental) problem." In September Callison mentioned passage of S 1075 by the Senate. Never was an "Audubon View" editorial devoted to NEPA, even though Callison had personally testified at a NEPA hearing, and even though a 1972 Audubon article would later term NEPA "the first effective environmental law of the land."

It was the fact that older journals were initially not receptive to environmental material which seems in part responsible for the rise of so many new specialized

environmental periodicals. Take, for example, the case of The Journal of Environmental Education. Beginning in 1964, a number of professors of education and of journalism and their graduate students around the country were studying the interrelationships of public schools and of the mass media and environmental concerns. But their research reports were not deemed sufficiently significant by existing scholarly journals. So 33 entrepreneurial scholars founded The Journal of Environmental Education in 1969, "devoted to research and development in ecological communications." Within six months the new periodical had a paid circulation of 1,200, and continues to flourish today. Meanwhile, the Journalism Quarterly, for example, gradually recognized the salience of environmental subject matter. Between 1969 and 1979 the JQ published 21 papers in the environmental arena.[14]

Why were the older conservation magazines slow to catch the cadence of environmentalism? Put another way, why was it that general interest magazines and not specialized periodicals helped set America's environmental agenda in the 1960s?

Over the years each specialized magazine had identified a narrow segment of the conservation cause as its particular mission in life and had cultivated a rather small but highly supportive clientele. Much of environmentalism's sweeping table of contents seemed irrelevant or peripheral. To the editors and readers of American Forests, for example, there didn't seem to be much connection between forest conservation in the Northwest and Walt Disney's plan to build a big jetport near Miami. Yet within roughly four weeks in the late summer of 1969, Time, Newsweek, Life, and Look all carried major environmental stories on the proposed jetport and its threat to South Florida's water budget.

That everything is indeed connected to everything else was a lesson that had to be learned by the classical conservationists the hard way. Later the head of the National Wildlife Federation would come to say, "Conservation is no longer just the story of vanishing wildlife and vanishing wilderness areas.

There is a new urgency in the word now. Suddenly, as we stop and look at our total environment, it has taken on the meaning of human survival."[15]

It is also possible veteran conservation magazine editors in the 1960s sensed their older, more conservative readers would be alienated by too hearty an espousal on the part of a traditional magazine of environmentalism's somewhat subversive doctrines and highly participatory if not militant tactics. Audubon magazine, for example, "dear to New England gentlefolk and retired admirals," as Hodgson describes it,[16] probably could not have risked assuming a leadership role on any issue more inflamatory than saving the bald eagle. By the 1970s, after even Richard Nixon had said that "wealth and happiness are not the same thing," a good deal more genuinely environmental an editorial policy became possible and even desirable, given a new breed of Audubon Society member.

A Case History in Creeping Environmentalism

How environmentalism has gradually penetrated older magazines may perhaps be best examined by analyzing in detail the changing content of a typical representative of the nature study/conservation genre, National Wildlife, sponsored by the National Wildlife Federation, the largest organization of its type in the world.

The December-January 1966 cover said National Wildlife was "dedicated to the wise use of our natural resources," the definition of conservation propounded by Gifford Pinchot 60 years before. The issue featured an innocent illustrated article on "Wildlife in Our Christmas Legends," and "An Inspirational Message from Dr. Norman Vincent Peale." The Reverend Dr. Peale asked us to "love God's law" by "experiencing the magic of nature daily." We could do so even in the city, he said: "One morning in New York between two appointments I stood for a long moment watching the ripples of the East River sparkling in the sunshine. The scene gave me such a lift that it affected the whole course of the day." No

hint here that the river at the time was one of the most polluted in the world. Louis Clapper's "Washington Report" for the month recorded relatively minor Congressional actions on parks, wild rivers, and recreation areas. There was a lead article titled "What Can I Do in Conservation?", but the accompanying photographs suggested your most important contributions could be to "pick up litter," "build a birdhouse," "show your nature photographs," and "let your newspaper editor know" about something or other.

In April-May 1966 the National Wildlife Federation announced its current "National Conservation Award Winners." Plaques went to a Seattle conservationist for work on better outdoor recreation facilities, a U.S. Senator for supporting national recreation areas, a newspaper columnist for writing about game management principles, a President's wife for fostering beautification, and an industrialist for landscaping his plant grounds. They were all very nice people doing very nice things. No hint of the type of tough heros just over the next hill. This was indeed still the era of a type of conservation which E. Sydney Stevens at the time characterized as like "a little girl in pantalettes with a May basket in her hand." The October-November 1967 issue of National Wildlife listed the sixty articles carried that year. All but fifteen were devoted to birds, mammals, natural history, adventure, plant life, inspiration, or outdoor activities. Of the fifteen on conservation, most were on mild wildlife issues.

Yet just beneath the surface of the magazine's major contents in 1966-67 were the first signs of the coming wave of the new environmentalism. The lead article in April-May 1966 was a blast at the nation's air pollution mess by Thomas L. Kimball, Executive Director of the National Wildlife Federation: "Air pollution may be our biggest pollution problem today. Two-thirds of the population of the United States lives in 7,000 urban areas afflicted with polluted air. Their lungs are gray instead of a healthy pink, and some of them will die, or have their lives shortened, from breathing the polluted air." No bucolic birdwatching

here. The new conservation problem was urban and it threatened the human species itself.

In the same issue NSF President Ernest Swift, in his brief "Short Talk" column, saw the inexorable relationship between battle in Indochina and conservation in Indiana: "With an undeclared war on our hands, will the resources of our forests, mines, and farms once again be strewn and left to rot on every atoll in the Pacific?" Ernie did not live to see a new generation of college kids take to the streets against both the Vietnam war overseas and environmental degradation at home. But his words were prophetic. A couple of issues later Swift was inveighing against "certain public officials who, after a token effort (at preserving wildlands), wash their hands of their responsibilities and let the commercializers have their way." Again, Ernie was ahead of his time in foreseeing outdoor buffs loving parks and wilderness areas to death in the absence of the crowd controls he knew would be needed. The same December-January 1967 National Wildlife had a sleeper article about how a little old Wisconsin lady in tennis shoes took on a county board and a state conservation commission single-handed--and saved 4,800 acres of forest from axe and plow. Success stories of grassroots action like this were to come to characterize environmental coverage. What was to come was perhaps best foreshadowed by a report in the June-July 1967 National Wildlife from the 31st annual National Wildlife Federation meeting at San Francisco, where hundreds of oldline conservationists declared "contamination of our environment" to be the most pressing problem of our time" and one that "demands massive and immediate action to prevent and control pollution." Conservation had come a long way from the day when the most pressing problem was the plume hunter.

"Are We Teaching Johnny Conservation?" was the question posed in the December-January 1969 issue to Martin W. Schein, Director of the prestigious National Science Foundation Committee on Undergraduate Education in the Biological Sciences. His answer was a resounding, "No!" With perhaps more prescience than he knew,

he said what was needed was "a new concept to give the whole natural resource field a new life." and that "it may come from our urban ecologists." The same issue of National Wildlife told the story of how a new breed of environmentalist, the birdwatcher turned activist, had saved Delaware's wildlands by "raising money, buying up, setting aside, restoring." The money came largely from DuPont executives via their Wilmington Garden Club wives. The campaign was masterminded by that essential catalyst in the person of Ted Harvey, himself an expatriate from the world of business.

"A Call to Battle!" was the headline of an April-May story about NWF's annual meeting, accompanying a Gallup poll indicating "73 percent of Americans will pay more taxes to fight conservation problems." The June-July 1969 National Wildlife issue picked up the tempo with a feature on the "Outward Bound Adventures" of a new generation of Americans forsaking affluence for the boondocks, and a photo-editorial inspired by the Santa Barbara oil spill, asking "Can man afford to foul his environment?" Even more diagnostic of the changing wind were that year's "Awards for Conservation Achievement": to a radio personality for encouraging citizen action against environmental degradation, to a journalist for his coverage of pressing environmental issues, to a cabinet member for conspicuous contributions to environmental quality, to a women's league president for fomenting environmental action programs, to a U.S. Senator for an aggressive fight against water pollution.

It wasn't just the semantics that were different. A new wind was blowing, typified by "an extensive evaluation of our deteriorating environment" in the August-September 1969 issue--National Wildlife's first "National EQ" report card, anticipating the first annual report of the President's new Council on Environmental Quality. The same issue carried a warning article on how "DDT Threatens You!", not just peregrine falcons; and a report about a Citizens Crusade for Clean Water, a new-style consortium of unlikely bedfellows like conservation organizations, labor unions, consumer groups, professional societies,

and local government officials.

In the February-March 1970 issue the editors took off their gloves for a haymaker at water polluters: "The politicans who permits pollution to be legal, the farmer whose land drains off chemicals and silt, the industrialist whose plant discharges waste, the apathetic citizen who is not willing to pay for clean water, the alderman whose city discharges untreated sewage." This was no mellow voice from Walden Pond; it was a call to arms. So it was no coincidence that the April-May 1970 issue saw a change in National Wildlife's slogan to "Dedicated to Improving the Quality of the Environment." The lead article was an interview with Professor Paul Ehrlich, apostle of population control, arguing that "Man is the endangered species."

Under Editor John Strohm's theme, "The Do-Or-Die Decade," the June-July 1970 issue took on the mining lobby in Idaho, land developers in Africa, and the Bureau of Reclamation in North Dakota. The next number carried an expose about how "We're Making a Cesspool of the Sea," by U.S. Senator Gaylord Nelson, one of the first politicians to discover environmentalism was good politics; and an open letter from Tom Kimball to President Nixon, pointing out that "$75.5 billion for national defense and only $1 billion for environmental quality means our national priorities are out of whack."

The October-November 1970 National Wildlife was particularly memorable for the magazine's second "EQ Index," a multicolor 10-page spread heralding a message of pure environmentalism: "America is in trouble because our greed, apathy, and blind indifference to human values have put us on a collision course with disaster. Our second annual measure of national environmental quality reveals the sobering fact that we are still losing ground on almost every front. Our air is dirtier. Our water is more polluted. Lands for food, wildlife, and living space are deteriorating. Certain minerals may be exhausted. Surging population threatens environmental quality around the world." The answer: (1) "a bold and comprehensive

national land and water use plan," and (2) "an informed and aroused public with a new ecological philosophy." To put teeth into the message, that issue of National Wildlife introduced a new section, the "EQ Critical List," a roster of those "crisis areas needing immediate attention." Rating first mention were a nuclear plant in Alabama, a dam in Illinois, a seashore preserve in Oregon, and an oil refinery in Maine. Meanwhile the National Wildlife Federation was reported calling on Congress for more "money for waste treatment plants and the purchase of public lands." The little conservation girl with the May basket had disappeared into the mists of the past.

By 1971 environmentalism was really rolling in National Wildlife. December-January: Tom Kimball taking on the Public Land Law Review Commission for "putting one-third of the U.S. up for grabs." February-March: a farsighted question, "Are We Running Out of Fuel?" June-July: Ralph Nader saying "Students shouting obscenities aren't tearing down America. It's chemical plants, steel mills, coal operations, paper and pulp mills, and utilities that are tearing down the natural resources of the country." October-November: the third annual EQ Index, showing we had seemed to wake up to the real meaning of environmental quality and the interrelationships of energy, economics and ecology. Lead articles in August-September 1971 had covered William Ruckleshaus of the new Environmental Protection Agency--"the man in the eye of the storm," the mercury poisoning "catastrophe brewing in quiet waters," the "last chance for a tall grass prairie" National Preserve, and the first of a series of "ecology primers." But the big news was in "Washington Report," now grown from a single column to a four-page center spread. "Federation Goes to Court in Four Corners Area," the story read, telling how the NWF had sought an injunction against a coal-burning power plant on Utah's Kaiporawits Plateau that would pollute multiple national parks, forests, and wildlands. Convention oratory had been replaced by court action. Five years later the power combine would call it quits at Kaiporawits.

By December-January 1972 the typical environmental hero had escalated to the governor of a state, as recorded in a National Wildlife story about how Russell Peterson of Delaware had "slammed the door in industry's face" when business sought to desecrate Delaware Bay. Governor Peterson was no ecology nut; he was a former DuPont vice president with a simple love of birdwatching. (He recently retired as Chairman of the federal Council on Environmental Quality to become President of the Audubon Society.)

The next month Tom Kimball introduced economic statistics to show that "spending money to cut pollution will produce big long-run savings." An April-May Gallup Poll indicated "the environmental movement is not faltering." Kimball was back in June-July with an open letter to Presidential candidates, urging them to "get on the environmental bandwagon." The same issue called for "a world-wide effort to conserve dwindling energy resources." And there was a piece by Chet Huntley predicting that the environmental movement was here to stay. The October-November index of 1972 titles listed 23 out of 75 in the new categories of "Environment" and "Conservation Ethic."

As slow as was the acceptance of an environmental stance on the part of veteran nature/conservation magazines, it was measurable. Russell found a mounting concern with problems of the urban environment, for example, in three such journals. Twelve times as many such articles appeared in the 1963-69 period as appeared in the 1954-1960 period.[17]

THE FLOURISHING OF STATE ENVIRONMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

Although very difficult to document, circumstancial evidence suggests that the irruption in national environmental periodicals was accompanied by an equally phenomenal rise in numbers and types of environmental periodicals within states. Zaporozec did a fairly exhaustive search in Wisconsin in 1971 and found 64 state-wide environmental occasionals, most of them newsletters or bulletins.[18]

In Wisconsin today there are 251 sub-state environmental groups.[19] If half of them issue a periodic newsletter, plus the surviving statewide publications, that would give us some 175 environmental periodicals in Wisconsin--one for about every 2,500 persons. It is unlikely that that is the national average since Wisconsin is traditionally a conservation-minded state, but if it were the national average it would mean an astronomical number of environmental occasionals circulating in the United States.

THE RISE OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONTENT IN GENERAL MAGAZINES

Because variations on the terms "environment" or "environmental" were not used as cataloguing descriptors by either the Library of Congress or Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature before 1974, it is very difficult to measure precisely any change in content of general circulation magazines in the 1966-1975 decade. But what incidental evidence we have suggests a significant rise in that period in environmental content.

For example, nine principal magazines devoted cover stories to "the new conservation" in 1969-70:

Look	4 Nov 1969	America the Beautiful
Newsweek	26 Jan 1970	The Ravaged Environment
Life	30 Jan 1970	Ecology Becomes Everybody's Issue
Fortune	Feb 1970	The Environment: A National Mission for the Seventies
Esquire	March 1970	Our Country 'Tis of Thee, Land of Ecology
Time	2 Feb 1970	The Emerging Science of Survival
Sports Illustrated	2 Feb 1970	The Last Chance--Now
Sat Review	7 Mar 1970	Environment and the Quality of Life
Psychology Today	March 1970	Hell 1970--Our Maniac Environment

Using a variety of descriptors, McEvoy determined from an analysis of Guide to Periodical Literature that the number of environmentally oriented articles in American magazines jumped from 68 in the period 1957-59 to 226 in the period 1967-69, an increase of more than 330 percent.[20] Articles on wildlife conservation alone more than doubled from 27 in 1971 to 55 in 1975.

Such data again suggest that general interest magazines responded more promptly than did specialized nature/conservation magazines to the impulses of the environmental era.

General circulation magazines continued to pay attention to environmental issues to a degree unheard of before 1966. For example, in the last four months of 1975, representative environmental articles appearing in general interest magazines included:

Conservation in Nepal, Atlantic; air pollution control programs, update on environmental legislation, Business Week; saving North Carolina's New River, Christian Century; the laws of nature, Harper's; power line conflicts, Nation; Florida's exotic wildlife species, India's threatened wildlife, National Geographic; the energy situation, The New Yorker; environment and human behavior, Psychology Today; and inept conservation bureaus, Sports Illustrated.

ATTRITION IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL RANKS

Five principal new environmental journals are now defunct.

Clear Creek, a flashy tabloid published in the shadow of San Francisco Bay Bridge, sought to give environmentalism an irreverent counter-culture flavor in the image of the Berkeley Barb. It lasted a year and a half.

Environmental Quality was an attempt to cause the environmental current to float a slick general interest magazine in the image of its sponsor, Psychology Today. It, too, was short-lived, perhaps because it bit off more than its readers could chew, as this EQ mission statement indicates:

"The further we go, the more we realize the complicity of all things within the environmental scheme. We have amended our editorial objectives to include prison reform, free clinics, daycare child centers, mood music, invasion of privacy, wine and health, homosexuality, corporate priorities, and a new kind of automotive road test. But EQ will continue to aim at the paper industry, the politics of power plants, ecotactics, environmental studies, vanishing lands and species, population control, trash mashing, organic cemeteries, guides to citizen and consumer action, household industry, economic living, and personal ecology."[21]

Environment Action Bulletin performed a crucial service at a crucial time. The product of Rodale Press in Pennsylvania, it early on recorded the activities of environmental action groups around the country, providing an invaluable networking. It's mailing list survives in the hands of Environmental Action.

The Environment Monthly under its distinguished editor, John Housman, played an equally catalytic role both by needling some industries for their lack of any ecological conscience and by saluting other industries that adapted to the environmental current. The publication died with the retirement of its editor.

Ecology/Today had a momentary fling and then disappeared into the New England fog.

It may or may not be significant that the new environmental periodicals that failed were those that cast out a broad net for readers, while those that have survived have aimed at particular audiences much more modest in size yet more avid in their interest in various aspects of applied ecology. The generalized environmental magazines were vulnerable to competition from general circulation magazines; the specialized environmental periodicals are much less so. It is hard to see, for example, how even Saturday Review could have substituted for the uses and gratifications of subscribers to The Journal of Environmental Education, but SR could easily have supplanted EQ in the minds and hearts of environmental generalists.

THE ENVIRONMENT OF THE FREELANCE WRITER

The coming of broad environmental concern has represented a bonanza for freelance writers. In their acquired zeal to cover the environmental beat, almost all American general circulation magazines have become markets for accomplished freelancers. So have the new specialized environmental periodicals--but for prestige, not for pay. Many antecedent environmental magazines, on the other hand, have always paid for contributions and do so now, although not handsomely. The better markets seem to be American Forests, Audubon, Environment, Field & Stream, International Wildlife, National Parks & Conservation Magazine, National Wildlife, Natural History, Outdoor Life, Ranger Rick's Nature Magazine, Sierra Club Bulletin, Smithsonian, and Sports Afield. A few state magazines pay.

SUMMARY

Tuesday, 22 April, 1970--Earth Day--represented "the largest, cleanest, most peaceful demonstration in America's history." Congress adjourned. Fifth Avenue in New York City was closed to traffic for two hours. Across the country an estimated 20 million people of all ages and shades participated--"dedicating themselves to saving the planet."[22] Sociologists Dunlap and Gale say E-Day "overnight elevated environmental quality into the public ken as a social problem."[23] The environmental movement "seemed to have become a true mass movement," in the assessment of current historian Hodgson.[24]

A hundred years from now, how could an historian know that? By analyzing American magazines, 1966-1975. The evidence is easily discernible--in the appearance of many new specialized environmental periodicals, in the adaptation of antecedent magazines, in the domestic circulation of periodicals from abroad, in the contents of general circulation magazines, in fugitive state newsletters and bulletins. As Mott postulated, the social current of environmentalism and

American magazine enterprise were to share a symbiotic relationship in the decade under consideration.

Did the environmental impulse sustain itself in American society? The answer to that question would seemingly be revealed by an examination of American magazines--1976-1985.

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